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much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclusive use of the men and boys (*tobár*). In the Bougainville villages these must be used by the boys wearing the *spi* (headgear indicating that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman. In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *spi*, their segregation is less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish. In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women. These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*). They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line, if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone, e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if occasion requires. Where the *tobár* is in the middle of the village, it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments. Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front portion of the hut belonging to the *tamaana* (chief), which has a kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow. It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

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particular, are hedged about with the strictest taboos that are known in this society. The woman is held chiefly responsible for seeing that these rules are kept, but the man, for his part, must take care that difficult situations do not arise through his fault, and that his mother-in-law is not put to undue inconvenience in observing the taboos between them.

A man must not see the face of his female *waris*, nor her hair. For this reason she carries about with her constantly a kind of pointed hood made of pandanus leaves, which, when her *waris* is present or expected, or where there is a chance of meeting him by accident, she keeps on her head, and pulls, if necessary, over her face. Most particularly she must never be seen by him while eating, and if she has to eat in his presence, she goes as far away from him as possible, pulls her hood over her face, and eats behind it. On encountering in the bush a party of which any relation a woman calls *waris* is likely to be one, she will leave the path and hide behind a tree till they have gone. I have often sat chatting with a group of women on the beach, when, at the approach of a party of men, some one will whisper '*W'aris*', and immediately those who have hoods with them will cover their faces, and those who have not will disappear. This custom was still being observed with the greatest strictness throughout the area at the time of my visit. A remark deriding it, made by the native R.C. Mission teacher at Tabut, was the occasion for an outburst of feeling on the part of the women both of that village and of Kurtatchi (described on p. 459). But Mr. Gordon Thomas, in a communication written about a year later, states that it has been abandoned on the island of Pororan (1933, no. 44), and there is no doubt that it will shortly disappear altogether.

Further restrictions on the relations between a man and his mother-in-law and other female *waris* are as follows: They must not defecate within sight of one another (in the ordinary way no shame is attached to being seen in the act of defecating). They must not touch one another. They must not sleep in the same house. They must not chew areca-nut in the presence of each other. They must not speak to one another directly, but must converse through the wife.

They must not say each other's personal name, nor even a substitute name. To refer to each other in speaking to a third party, the term *waris* is used. When there is a child, the mother-

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Take portions of the roots of the tree called *wagag* (a small palm resembling an areca-palm, possibly another variety, but the nuts are not normally used for chewing). Scrape bits off these roots, and let the woman chew them with the betel-mixture, taking care to swallow some of it. 842 824

It is understood that a woman may be sterile without having taken a contraceptive. In the course of giving genealogies informants would sometimes remark, speaking of a childless marriage: 'This woman was not able to have children.' They clearly make a distinction, in talking about persons known to them, between this state of affairs and one in which 'the woman's belly was fast' because she had taken one of the medicines. There was no suggestion that the fault might lie with the male, provided that he was capable of performing the act of coitus. 842

In this connexion it may be added that I gathered from Government officials and missionaries with some medical training that there is very little venereal disease in this area. Such information as I received from the natives corroborates this. 164

PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is suspected after the omission of one menstrual period, unless the woman has been taking one of the numerous medicines (described on p. 269) which are supposed to control or inhibit the flow, in which case she will wait awhile before accepting the fact of pregnancy. They do not keep any tally of the time, and their only means of judging when to expect the birth is by the appearance of the abdomen and breasts. 843 [805]

There is no ceremony such as takes place among the Trobrianders (Malinowski, 1929, p. 184) or the people of New Ireland (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 60), when a woman first discovers that she is pregnant. In the olden days she used to make a belt of a special creeper called *inur*, and to wear hanging from the front of it leaves of a particular plant (*nai'iar*). As every one now wears a loin-cloth, this practice is falling into disuse, though some women wear the belt and the appropriate leaves on the top of the loin-cloth. [292 824 177]

CEREMONY FOR PREGNANT WOMAN

Towards the end of the pregnancy a ceremony is performed with the object of ensuring easy delivery. The only estimate of

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woman when she goes to wash. As it is thrown into the sea and carried away by the current, all the women call out: 843 782

Som si mē mon ta bai'i ta dum tsūn.
Give woman child good very

No names are mentioned, but it is understood that it is the *urar* who are called upon. Then the woman puts on a girdle made of the black outside layer of the trunk of the bush banana, and fixes some leaves of the plant called *ōts* into it in front, so that they hang down over her genitals. This plant is one which is always planted in the taro garden in order to ensure a good crop. She must continue to wear this belt until the second part of the pregnancy ceremony has been performed. 843 292 824

When her mother thinks that the time has come for this, which she estimates by noticing the pregnant woman's bodily condition, she takes a certain black stone, washes it carefully, and decorates it with streaks of black and red paint. With the stone she makes passes round the woman's body, touching the skin, and then rubs it on her abdomen, pressing downwards. As she is being rubbed, the pregnant woman must say: 'I want a good child who will be born easily.' Then the child that is in the stone comes out and passes into the woman and helps the real child to be born. The stone is put back into the hut, carefully wrapped up in fibre, to be kept till it is wanted again for the same purpose. The woman takes off her girdle and has her hair cut short over the rest of her head, where it was not cut on the previous occasion. If she has come to her mother's village specially for this ceremony she may now go back to her husband's people. There is no feast at this part of the proceedings. 843 823

The black stones used for rubbing the pregnant woman's abdomen are much prized. With great difficulty I succeeded in obtaining one which had been used for the wife of the man who gave it to me; he said she would not have any more children so she would not want it again. It is of a volcanic nature, a species of diorite. It measures 4½×2 in., is oval in shape, and water-worn. It was probably obtained from the bed of one of the rivers which flow from the volcanic interior of the island, and must have come from some distance, because there is no stone of that nature anywhere near the village.

The young woman for whom I saw this ceremony performed 843 574

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PLATE 15

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BALANCING GAME

[Facing p. 175]

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voice and leg, whenever it sounded. Wanias was not present, it would have been considered very unlucky if he had accidentally put in an appearance. Apparently this performance is somewhat in the nature of a rehearsal.

All the next day the whole of the male population of the village was employed in making ceremonial pudding (see Pl. 33). Some of the men varied their labours by making Pan-pipes, and the women were making baskets of plaited coco-nut palm leaves to hold the pudding. These they made smaller than usual, because they were for a child. When the pudding-making was finished the slit-gong was sounded.

Just before sundown two specially large taro tubers, with leaves and stalk still attached, were laid on the front verandah (*tagoan*) of Wanias's maternal grandmother's hut, where he and his mother live (his father is dead). On these was laid a very elaborately worked woman's hood, covered with an embroidered pattern made of strips of fibre and dried leaves, dyed red and brown, the kind of hood women wear on special occasions. On top of this was placed a sucking pig, held down by one of the older men of the village. Pinari, Wanias's mother's mother's brother, whom he calls *tsubunē* (my grandfather), took some lengths of shell currency (*beroan*) and rubbed the pig's sides with it, beginning at the tail. Then he took a large pinna shell full of red paint (*oin*) mixed with coco-nut oil, and rubbed the pig in the same way with that, then with the specially prepared pack, and then with a red loin-cloth. When all these things, which were to come in contact with Wanias in the course of the ceremony, had been passed from head to tail of the pig, it was allowed to run away. Then a number of the women, of both clans, came up in turn, and each sat on the hood for a minute. Two of the women who were *watʃitʃio* to Wanias came first, but others followed who bore no relationship to him. A little girl, younger than Wanias, not related, but of the same clan, was held down on the hood while her hair was carefully trimmed by Koawu, one of the older men (it does not seem to matter who undertakes this duty). He trimmed it all round, particularly just over the temples and behind the ears, making a clean line. The way having been thus prepared, Rus, Wanias's mother, brought the little boy out of the hut and sat down on the hood with him on her lap. Koawu began to trim his hair in the same way. He was not at all pleased with the process, and wriggled so much that it

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became impossible to continue cutting. He was taken off the hood round to the women's side of the hut, and the hair-dressing operations were finished by two young men, to the accompaniment of his screams. The cutting was done with a razor, of which there are a few in the village. In the olden days they would have used a black-lip oyster shell. When the trimming had been completed to the barbers' satisfaction, Rus took Wanias back to the front verandah and sat down again on the hood, while she covered his head with red paint, except for two dabs of black one on each side just above his ears, he very restless the while. A dab of brighter red was put on his ears, and a streak from the external angle of his eyes sloping down towards the ears.

All this time there were great hair-dressing operations going on all over the village. All the young children, of both sexes, and some of the older girls had their hair trimmed and covered with red paint mixed with coco-nut oil. (The older boys, who wore the *upi*, had no share in this part of the proceedings.) A number of women from neighbouring villages arrived, and were also painted.

Then there was an interval, during which some taro was eaten. Then the women began to congregate in the open space in the centre of the village. Counting visitors, there were perhaps some fifty or more women present. All wore their hoods, except the smallest of the girls, and one or two women who had renounced the custom and did not possess hoods—these wore white loin-cloths over their heads. They started marching round in wheel formation as they had done the previous evening, one carrying the new pack, others bows and arrows, axes, and paddles, as before. After some time there was another interval, at the end of which all the men and boys came up and took over the wheel formation, blowing their Pan-pipes and playing *mabu*, of which there were two. The women returned to their usual role of dancing outside the circle in twos and threes, up to the men and away again, singing and making a hissing noise. They all wore aromatic plants tucked into their loin-cloths and into their hair. They gave me some to put in my belt, and begged me to join in the dancing, which I did, following the example of the other women. Some of the men were springing about in imitation of the movements made by a band of armed warriors attacking a village by stealth. This was apparently symbolical, as it is not a regular feature of their dances. They did not go on very late on this occasion.

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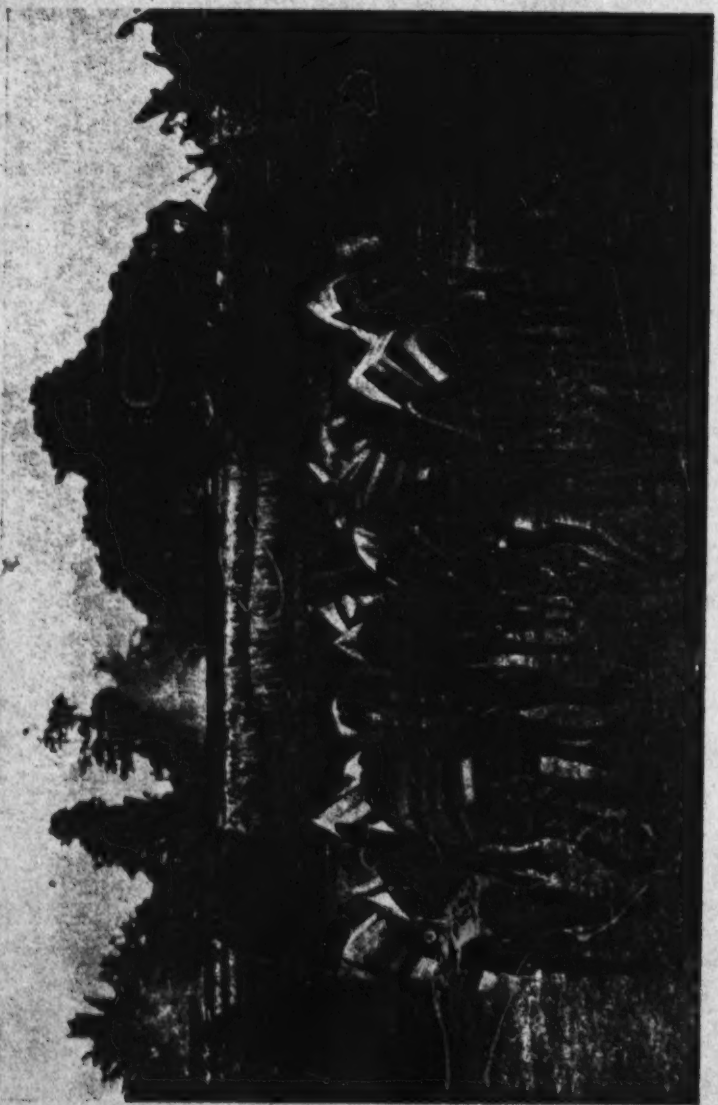
PLATE 17



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565
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342
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WOMEN'S DANCE FOR WANIAS

[facing p. 192]

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VI

ADOLESCENT BOYS

292 ON approaching any village on the north coast of Bougainville, a stranger will at once be struck by the curious head-gear worn by all the boys, except those who are still mere infants (Pl. 19). This head-gear is called in the Kurtatchi dialect *upi* (Ruri and Munlus dialect *buri*; Sēlō dialect *wasobu*; Hahon (mountain) dialect *wasampo*). Its appearance is more easily appreciated from photographs than from any verbal description. To the unaccustomed onlooker, watching it bob up and down as its wearer goes about his work or play, it seems almost incredible that this ungainly object should be worn except for a joke, yet it is probably the most serious and important thing in the whole culture of the area, being associated with an elaborate series of rules and taboos, which profoundly influence the daily life of the people.

824 294 The *upi* is made of the leaves of a small fan-palm (*Licuala*) which is common in the bush, and is called in the Kurtatchi dialect *win*. The manufacture is carried out in the *tobar* and is kept secret from the women. The dried and bleached leaves are stretched over a frame made of thin bamboo, the bottom of which is composed of two circles of stiffer cane, not found in the coastal districts but [283] obtained from the mountain people. The leaves are very neatly stitched together with native fibre-string of exceptional fineness. At the present time this is done with needles from the traders' stores, but in the olden days holes through which to thread the string were made with fine thorns or bits of shell rubbed down to a point on the rough surface of a lump of coral. The bottom of the hat is closely bound round with thicker string. The finished *upi*, though clumsy, is much lighter than it appears to be, but considerable practice is necessary before its wearer acquires sufficient skill to keep it in position as he goes about his various occupations.

ORIGIN OF THE *UPI*

292 773 539 The legend of origin, current over the whole area, runs as follows: A woman was walking in the bush when she saw an *war* wearing an *upi*. The woman looked at the *upi* and liked it very much. She said to

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PLATE 19

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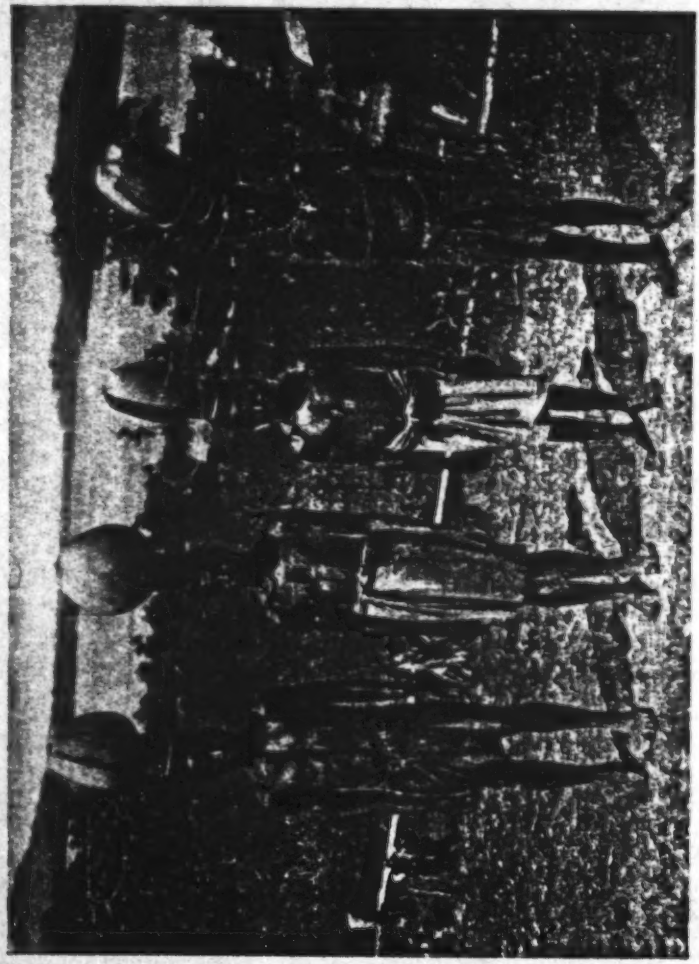

UPI BOYS AT BUKA PASSAGE

[facing p. 194]

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PLATE 20

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b. ONE OF THE OLDEST

a. ONE OF THE YOUNGEST BOYS WEARING THE *UPI*

[Facing p. 195]

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the *wrar*: 'Oh, I like you, you are my man, you are a fine fellow.' Then the *wrar* took his long breasts and gave them to the woman, and took hers, which were very small, for himself. Before that, the men had big breasts and the women small ones, afterwards, it was as it is now. The woman said: 'I don't want these big breasts, I want your *upi*. If you will give it to me I will not give it to any one.' The *wrar* said: 'I don't want to suckle a child. If you have a child you must put him to your own breasts and give him milk.' Then he gave her the *upi*. She hid it in the bush. But one day a man caught her with it, and took it away from her. He said: 'You must not tell any of the other women about this.' The woman said: 'It belongs to me and to all the women.' The man said: 'No, I will not have that, it belongs to me now.' Then the man killed the woman. He said: 'It will be a bad thing if she stays here and talks about this to all the other women. I shall take this thing and put it in the bush, it won't do for any more women to know about it.' So he took the *upi*, and ever since then it has belonged to the men, and no longer belongs to the women.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE *UPI*

Three important ceremonies are connected with the wearing of the *upi*, each of which must be gone through by every boy, be he *tsunaun* or commoner. The first is called *wapi* (= *wa-upi*, to make *upi*), and celebrates the putting on of the hat. The second, held after a period of years, is the *watawutʃ*, which removes some of the restrictions placed upon the boys wearing the *upi*; of the three it is considered by far the most important. The third, held at some convenient time after the *watawutʃ*, is called *wasipsip* (*wa-* verbal prefix, *sipsip* = comb); at it the *upi* is finally removed. I was fortunate enough to have two opportunities of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, which I can therefore describe from personal observation, but of the other two I can give only an account compiled from notes of numerous discussions.

The first two ceremonies are held for the boys from a group of villages together, the third may be held for two or three, or even for a single individual, should he for some special reason wish to discard his *upi* at a given time. A boy must return to the group with which he went through the *wapi* ceremony when the time comes for the *watawutʃ*, even though his family may in the meantime have moved to a village belonging to another group. Thus there was a boy at Tabut, who did not share the ceremonies with the other boys of this village, but attended those of the Ruri group,

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881 574 372 487 trees they felled, nor pick up those that lay scattered thickly on the ground. Leaving behind us a desolate scene of wreckage, we went on farther and skirted the village of Tchinopai. From now onwards we climbed steeply, dropping into deep valleys between ridges. As we stood, during one of the many pauses, on a downward gradient, we could see the lights of the men in front of us going down into the depths, and those of the head of the procession climbing skywards in the far distance. There must have been between two and three hundred in single file, with torches at intervals, their flicker making the forest into a mysterious place full of weird shadows. It is not difficult to understand the general dread of the forest after nightfall.

881 574 When we had almost made up our minds that we were to walk all night, we came to the village of Nimbarossi. On the verandah of a house by the road was laid out another store of provisions, which were promptly distributed. The crowd then disposed itself for what remained of the night, some inside the house, some on the verandah, and a great many on the ground outside.

881 574 487 301 Every one was up at dawn next morning, and the long line continued to wind up hill and down dale, crossing rivers—fortunately plentifully supplied with boulders—at intervals. The line was constantly broken by men dashing into the bush to get some sweet-smelling or bright-coloured plant, which they stuck into their hair and armbands, or their belts, if they were lucky enough to possess that much-coveted article.

881 574 [516] 824 292 302 Presently the whole line halted and collected in a clearing, spreading wild banana leaves to sit upon. A native never sits on the bare ground if he can help it. The boys who were wearing *upi* made elaborate covers for them with leaves, because it would not do for the novices to see them before they had received their own. The older men rubbed lime over their faces. One man produced a tin of talcum powder, which was passed round, its contents being daubed on foreheads and cheeks. Another was the envied possessor of a pot of brilliantine, which he daubed under his armpits with evident pleasure. They hung a wreath of aromatic plants round my neck, which I appreciated as evidence that they did not resent my presence. Presently the sound of a bull-roarer was heard in the distance. I was told that this was the voice of the *urar*, and that we should presently see them. Before moving on, each man carefully whipped with the large leaves of the wild banana the

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soon as the participants had recovered their breath after the last effort. Sometimes two sides charged each other, sometimes one or other party marched round a big tree in the centre of the ground, stamping and gesticulating wildly. Their rushes were very dramatic. Some had feather head-dresses, or bunches of bright-coloured parrot feathers in their hair, which, with the paint on their faces and the green leaves covering the upi, added to the effect. Many of the boys did not succeed in keeping their *upi* on their heads, but as there were no women present, they were not much concerned. It was the first time I had had an opportunity of seeing any boys without their head-gear. The hair of many of them fell below their waists, that of others, who had not worn the *upi* for so long, reached only to the shoulders.

After three or four such rushes in quick succession, there was a long wait, everybody in excited suspense. Then a man standing near me said: 'The *urar* are coming now.' Up the hill came a crowd of men, accompanied by two huge figures resembling the giant figures at carnivals. Each was carried by a man walking underneath it, the upper part of his body being inside the body of the figure. One wore a very large *upi* with an elaborate pattern in red and white. The face was roughly carved of wood, blackened and highly polished. The eyes were large and round, made, apparently, of a pair of trade spectacles. The mouths of both were wide open, that of the second had a large tongue showing. They represented a married couple, the one without the *upi* being the woman; her mouth was open because she was crying over her children, as the women cry when their boys are taken from them to go into the bush for the period of isolation prior to this ceremony. The bodies of both figures were covered with long strands of human hair, cut from the heads of previous *upi* wearers at the *maripaip* ceremony. In the centre of the body was a slit through which the man carrying the figure could see where he was going. The figures finished off in a straight line just below the waist of the men carrying them, whose legs were not concealed at all. The female figure had no breasts represented,[1] and was indistinguishable from the male except for the absence of the *upi*. The hands were of wood, raised on each side, with the arms, which

[1] This is noteworthy, as physical details are usually portrayed with great realism on the representations of the human form made by these people. It may have reference to the legend of origin of the *upi* given on p. 194.

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carried it made it bend from side to side, and forwards, as if to threaten the frightened crowd of women far below, who shrieked and wept, not a few of them running away into the bush. Above the shouting, yelling, and clashing of weapons, sounded the always mysterious and terrible boom of bull-roarers somewhere in the background. To the women, this sound is the voice of the *urar* saying that he is about to eat their sons and brothers. After one rush, the *urar* figure was taken back to the shed.

Meanwhile, some old men were cutting branches and wild banana leaves, and making a rough shelter near the top of the cleared space. Then the novices, who until now had been kept in hiding in the bush, and had taken no part in the proceedings, were led up the slope from the other side, near the bottom of the cleared space. There were about forty of them, the smallest I thought not older than five, the largest somewhere in his later teens. The small boys wore tiny conical hats made of dried leaves, in shape exactly like the dunce's cap of old-time country schools. The bigger boys had hats shaped like *upi* except that the top was pointed instead of flat. They came up in single file, and were marshalled into a group in the centre of the cleared space (Pl. 21). All of them looked scared, or at least very solemn. They had been kept in ignorance of what was about to befall them.

Some older men made a ring round the group of novices. Then all the boys already wearing *upi* and most of the other men present made a rush at the novices and pretended to attack them, with spears levelled, arrows fixed at bowstrings, axes brandished, shouting or blowing conch-shells. They retreated, and then came back again, retreated again, advanced a third time, this time with the *urar* figures in the rear. Once more they retreated and advanced, bringing the *urar* figures close to the group of novices. The men carrying the figures manipulated them very cleverly, so that they seemed to bend over the boys, pretending to seize them by the shoulder (Pl. 22). Some of the smaller boys set up howls of terror, which were lost in the general din. The effect was well calculated to impress and terrify the youngsters.

After several minutes of this performance, the *urar* figures were taken up to the newly constructed shelter near the top of the hill, and hidden behind the leaves of which it was built, the head and shoulders of one of them showing over the top. The men who had been carrying them came out from under them, leaving them

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to his waist, was pulled out and escorted down the hill where the *wrar* had appeared to the women. He was to be shown to them as a sign that their sons, whom they believed to be eaten by the *wrar*, were alive and well. He was away a long time; meanwhile the novices remained in line, standing as still as they could. Finally he came back laughing, and stood for a while chatting with a group of men beside the line, afterwards taking his place again at the head of it.

Then a procession of older men, some of them quite elderly, came up the slope. Each of them had an *upi* on his head. These were the fathers or brothers of the novices, wearing the new *upi* especially prepared for the boys. They managed their unaccustomed head-gear awkwardly, and looked self-conscious. One let his *upi* fall to the ground; this was greeted with laughter and shouting, and was evidently regarded as a great joke. They stood together in close formation, stamping their feet in rhythm and shouting. Then they walked several times round the line of novices. Two of them carried *upi* of enormous size, with very elaborate patterns on them, coloured red and white. These were laid for a second on the head of each novice in turn, one man going up the line and one down, so that each boy had both *upi* put on his head. I learned subsequently that these were the *upi* worn by the *wrar* figures. They are the sign of the *wagi'upi*, i.e. the novices of *tsunaun* lineage. But they are put on to the heads of all the boys in turn because all—*tsunaun* and commoners—are going through the *wapi* ceremony together.

After this the boys' own *upi* were put on. Everybody crowded round to help to fasten them. Some had to be fixed with the aid of sticks and bits of rag, as the hair was not long enough to keep them in place. When all were fitted, the line broke up in confusion. The ceremonial *upi* were carried up the hill to the shed where the *wrar* figures were. The newly invested novices, henceforward themselves known as *upi*, strutted about, evidently feeling very important, and, judging by their furtive lifting of hands to steady the clumsy head-gear, more than a little uncomfortable.

By this time the sun was getting low, and as most of the visitors had a long way to walk home, the gathering soon dispersed. The initiates went back to the bush, where they were to remain till they had learned how to keep the *upi* in place, after which, on the performance of another ceremony (to be subsequently described), they would return to their own villages.

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names now given entirely superseded the names by which the boys had previously been called, which were forgotten altogether. But in practice I found that some of the boys wearing the *upi* were familiarly known by the names they had had since babyhood, though if questioned about this they always explained that these were not the 'names belonging to the *upi*', which would then be stated.

The *amro* will have laid in readiness a supply of certain leaves, collected from the bush. Two of these are varieties of nettle, and sting the skin if touched. These are called *bobuwiar* and *sentun*. The third, called *nes*, I cannot identify.[1] The *amro* now fetch water and soak the leaves in it. With this mixture they return to the village. By this time it is getting dark. The *amro* find the mothers of the novices in the village, and throw over them the water containing the leaves, 'it makes the women's skin sting and they cry'. The women run away into their huts and fasten the doors. The *amro* climb up on to the roofs of the huts where the *tʃina'upi* are hiding, and throw water down through the roof. (The layers of sago-palm leaf thatch with which the huts are roofed can very easily be displaced for this purpose without doing any damage.) Then the *amro* run away from the village and go back to the *nōnō*, where the novices have remained while all this has been going on. This they do by night, a practice contrary to the usual custom except on special occasions, such as the present, when they consider themselves to be specially protected by the nature of their errand from the dangers usually lurking in the bush after dark.

They sleep with the novices in the *nōnō* for the rest of that night, and next morning, at early dawn, they come back to the village and throw stones and sticks at all the huts, not confining themselves to those in which there are *tʃina'upi*. As they throw, they call out: '*Wapor wats!*' ('Throw stones!') The people inside the huts talk among themselves; they are afraid of the *amro*. Then the *amro* return to the bush.

The novices are now given hats of the same shape as before, but decorated with patterns in red-dyed leaf (Pl. 27). Their bodies are hung about with aromatic plants, and painted with the usual pigments.

[1] Another account gave the leaves used as *katʃan*, *kawawar*, and *lavebi*. The sap of the last-named, if applied to the skin, causes little weals. The essential thing is that the leaves shall hurt a little when they touch the skin of the *tʃina'upi*.

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I was alone on my verandah, one of the *upi* boys—a lad whom I should judge to be somewhere in his middle teens—came up, and with great secrecy, looking carefully round to make sure he was not observed, produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a bundle of leaves, tied up with fibre string. He said it contained a mixture used by men to gain the favours of a woman they desired. He asked me not to tell anybody that he had given it to me, because, as he was still wearing the *upi*, he was not supposed to have such things, and if the old men knew, they would 'make poison' against him and he would die. He had obtained it from a mountain native belonging to a distant village. It resembled, both in contents and in method of use, other 'medicines' of the same nature in my collection.

The boys are not under any restrictions as regards the discussion of sexual subjects. They contributed, at my 'story-telling evenings', stories and legends of sexual and non-sexual content in about the same proportions as did the other villagers.

Under no circumstances may any boy be seen by a woman without his *upi*. Strictly speaking, they are not supposed to take it off, except in the privacy of their *tobar*, but in practice they sometimes remove it when away in the bush, especially when they do anything liable to injure it. Shortly after I first came to Kurtatchi I was out with two of the older men and several of the *upi* boys. One of the men told a small boy to climb a coco-nut palm and get us some coco-nuts to drink, and to take off his *upi* before doing so. He looked at me with a frightened grimace, and refused. The older man told him that I was 'just the same as a man' and that it did not matter if I saw him without his *upi*. He was still unwilling to remove it, so another boy was sent up. He took off the hat, and a roll of black cloth which helped to keep it in place, laying both carefully under a bush. Two other boys were set to watch the path in both directions, in case any women should come in sight. They explained that the women did not know about the roll of cloth, which was put in because the boy's hair had not yet grown long enough to keep the *upi* in place. It was hardly down to his shoulders; they said it had not been growing very long. Before they had any cloth they used bundles of grass. If a man saw one of the boys with this roll showing, he would take the careless youth aside and tell him to go into the *tobar* and put his *upi* on properly.

In the olden days, if a woman saw a boy without his *upi* she

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would have been speared to death. Though the death penalty can no longer be exacted, there is still a very real horror of this inadvertently occurring. One unfortunate little boy was afflicted with head lice to such an extent that his hair began to fall out badly. This was attributed to the fact that he had eaten canarium almonds which are taboo to boys wearing the *upi*. When the top of his head was quite bald, leaving only a fringe of hair round the outside of his *upi*, the men became afraid that the hat might fall off in the presence of the women. They decided to forestall that catastrophe, and take off the hat with proper ritual. One of the men came to tell me it was going to be done, and asked if I wished to be present.

The hat was removed in the *tobar* of the clan Naboin, to which the boy belonged. This should have been done by the boy's *amro*, but as he was away from the village at the time, his brother officiated instead. As soon as the *upi* had been removed, the same man cut off the wisp of hair that remained and covered the whole head with paint, black in front and at the back, with a broad streak of red in the middle, running from ear to ear. The usual method of painting for ceremonial purposes is from front to back; the pattern here used is especially sanctioned for the removal of the *upi* and is put on at the *maripsip* ceremony. Three of the older men were looking on. No one spoke above a whisper. The boy looked very crestfallen, and it was evidently all he could do not to cry. He was one of the smallest of the *upi* boys, his age would be somewhere about ten probably. His status in the village is not affected, but he will not be able to take part in the *watawutf* with his companions, which is a bitter disappointment to him. He stayed inside the *tobar* for the rest of the day. He was free to leave it had he wished, but he was very self-conscious, and dreaded being seen by the women without his *upi*. The older men legitimized its removal by partaking of ceremonial pudding specially prepared, made in lengths instead of rolls, and called *gōgi*. After sundown the *upi* was taken to pieces, and the upper part, made of leaves, with part of the cane frame, was burnt inside the *tobar*. The lower part of the frame is made of a large variety of bamboo which does not grow in the district but must be bought from the mountain people. With an eye to economy, this was saved and hung up from the rafters, to be used again.

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stood to him in the relation of *pi'an* (cross-cousin), and as he was therefore prohibited from touching his skin, another man was specially appointed to perform the duty of putting on the paint.

They may not decorate themselves with a plant called *tsutsuir*, which is much liked by these people and is frequently worn tucked into the arm-band. This prohibition is removed after the watawutch ceremony.

IV. *Other regulations.*

In the olden days, boys wearing the *upi* were not allowed to handle edged tools. They might help to clear the bush, but all cutting was done by the *amro*. This taboo is no longer enforced.

A boy wearing the *upi* may not be beaten by anybody, no matter what his offence. Those who break this taboo will die. Specific instances were cited of people who had done so—and had died. It is permissible for two boys to fight each other, though it is difficult to imagine how they could do so effectively without first removing their head-gear.

In recent years, with the increase in the practice of going away to work for white men, another rule has been made, that the boys wearing the *upi* may not sign on as indentured labourers. For some time after putting on the hat they must not work for white men at all, but after their hair has grown to some length they can work as casuals, provided they work on a plantation near enough to their own village to enable them to return to it each night. They are not allowed to remove their *upi* while at work. After they have been through the *watawutf* they may sign on as indentured labourers and are permitted, if they wish, to remove the *upi* and tie up their hair in a bit of cloth; this is done to keep it out of the way rather than to prevent it from being seen, since the prohibition on showing it is removed at the *watawutf*.

A further complication is now caused by the boarding-schools instituted by the various missions. A boy from Ruri who went to one of these had his *upi* removed by the priest. His people were very angry, but the affair was not as bad as it might have been, because the lad had been through the *watawutf* ceremony. It was legitimized by making a feast at Ruri, to which the Kurtatchi people were invited; this brought the matter to my notice. (Incidentally, those who went said it wasn't much of a feast, there was only one pig and some taro, and they got only very little apiece!)

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creepers, for eight days. They were then stripped of their coverings by the *upi* boys, and left to dry in the sun till they should be required for the building of the 'long house'.

The *tartaras* (rafters) for the long house were also provided by the people of Tabut. These were brought in some days later, with renewed shouting and excitement, covered with leaves and the split leaves of young *win* palm in the same manner as the *pa'i*. But the occasion was regarded as much less important than the bringing in of the *pa'i*, and there was no *kōma* connected with it.

From the time when the *pa'i* are cut, up to the time when the *watawutf* takes place, it is accounted a very serious offence for any man in any of the villages concerned in the ceremony to have sexual intercourse with any woman other than his wife or wives, a proceeding ordinarily regarded with unconcern. It so happened that while the people of Tabut were working on the *pa'i* for the *watawutf* to be held at Kurtatchi, a man from one of the hamlets comprising the village of Tabut broke this taboo. The woman became pregnant, and was made to tell the name of her lover. As soon as this became known at Kurtatchi, some of the men of that village took a pole and tied some fibre to it; this they left in front of the house where the offender lived, as a sign that he had been found out. He was then obliged to pay a fine of a pig to the Kurtatchi people. Two of the Kurtatchi men went over the next day and brought the pig back; it was cut up and cooked immediately, and the *pa'i* were smeared with its fat. This was done in order to obviate the harm that might otherwise have ensued from the breaking of the taboo.

The next matter of importance was to arrange for the making of the special *upi*, to be used at the *watawutf*. These are elaborately ornamented with a cut-out pattern laid on over the usual *win* leaves. The cut-out is made of the same *win* palm leaves, dyed with a special dye, the secret of which is known only to the mountain people, from whom the leaves are purchased ready dyed. When, shortly before, I had gone upon a trip into the interior, I was charged by Pinari to bring back a supply of these from the Kunua people, who were experts in the art of dyeing them. This I did, and was also able to obtain from a Kunua native the secret of the dye, after promising that I would not disclose it to the coast people, a promise which it was not difficult to keep, as they had no idea that the mountain people had let me into the secret. The

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actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves for the upi is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus prepared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods or tobacco to the value of about 2*s*. in our money. They are called *kokoman* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of the most important men of the village went on this journey. None of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the rhythm */// /// /// ... /*. The leaves were carefully put away in the *tobar*.

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881 At this stage in the proceedings I was reluctantly obliged to leave Kurtatchi as my time was at an end. The remainder of the preparations for the *watawutʃ*, and the ceremony itself, are therefore described not from observation but from information received from the natives, who professed to be sorry that I was not going to see it. The details given in the following pages have been verified with the utmost care, but it is impossible to know the extent of their incompleteness.

MAKING THE *UPI* FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 294 621 As soon as the 'long house' is completed, word is sent to the people of the mountains to come down and help to make the special *upi* with the red patterns which must be used for the *watawutʃ* (Pl. 27). The Kurtatchi people call for this service from the Hahon (Wawon in their dialect, which has no *h*) who live in the foot-hills behind the north coast. The men making the *upi* do not, however, work in the *tobar tʃan*, but in the ordinary *tobar*, [554] the only condition being that the owner of the *tobar* must possess a number of pigs—not for use, but as a sign of his prestige. One *tobar* in the village of Kurtatchi could not be used for this purpose because its owner had no pigs. The other two divided between them the making of the *upi* for the boys of the different villages of the group. For boys from Tabut and Wantoa the hats were to be made in the *tobar* belonging to Kakari, of the clan Nakarib, for those of Munlus, Baniata, Bona, Mosang, and Togaragar, in the *tobar* belonging to Wasē, clan Naboin. For the boys of Kurtatchi, the hats are made in the *tobar* of the clan to which each belongs. • [292] One hat is made for each boy who is to take part in the ceremony. These special upi are called *wasōbō*. The Hahon people are paid for cutting the patterns. In the olden days this payment was made [465] with specially prized stone axe-heads, but nowadays with trade knives, and also sometimes with loin-cloths and other trade goods. [436] Ceremonial currency, either of shell or teeth, must never be used for this payment (perhaps because of its use in connexion with marriage?). The *amro* make the payments to the Hahon people, and are subsequently repaid by the mothers of the initiates.

881 294 764 The time occupied in making these hats is a period of great tension throughout the village. While the work is in progress the workers must stay in the *tobar*, and the village must be kept as silent as possible. No sweeping or cleaning must be done. Each

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as at the *watawutf*. After this all the people *kōma* until sunset, when the dance must stop. Then the boys go to their mother's huts. If they wish, they can still sleep in the *tobar*, but they are not obliged to do so, and those who are married may cohabit with their wives.

The discarded *upi* are burnt, but the hair which is cut from the heads of the initiates, by this time very long—some say it may be down to their ankles—is carefully stored away in the *tobar*, to be used subsequently for making *urar* figures for use at a future *wapi* ceremony.

This concludes the series of ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*. The boys are now known as *tagutsu*, and take their places in the village as adult men.

TABULATION OF PROCEDURE CONNECTED WITH THE *UPI*

Native Term.	*Description.*	*Time (approx.).*
	I. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH *WAPI*	
1. *pōpin*	Boys go to bush in day-time only, return to village at night.	Fixed by *tsumaun*.
2. *watagi'upi*	Mothers take farewell of their sons before seclusion.	Several days after 1.
3. *wasilbi*	Period of complete seclusion in bush.	Formerly about a year, now about 3 months.
4. *WAPI*	Ceremony at which *upi* are put on.	Occupies most of a day.
(i)	Visiting parties received at appointed place with mock fighting.	
(ii)	*Urar* figures shown to the visitors, and, from a distance, to the women, with sounding of bull-roarer.	
(iii)	Novices brought up and form a group surrounded by *amwo*.	
(iv)	Pretended attack on group by assembled company.	
(v)	Men carrying *urar* figures descend on novices and make the figures gesticulate over them.	
(vi)	Novices carried one by one into shed hiding *urar* figures, pantomime of killing novices.	
(vii)	Novices laid, as if dead, on the ground and covered with leaves.	
(viii)	Novices restored to life by agency of *urar*.	
(ix)	*Upi* placed on heads of novices, who return to their place of seclusion.	

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PLATE 27

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DECORATED CPW

[Facing p. 234]

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Each boy carries in his right hand a carved lime-pot,[1] hanging by a string. At this stage in the proceedings the pots must be empty of lime. They are filled by the *kwigin*, in the *tobar*, after the close of the ceremony. The right hand also holds a bunch of the aromatic leaves called *tsutsuir*, which he has been forbidden to use since putting on the hat. In his left hand he holds two areca-nuts on a stalk, and in his mouth a catkin of the betel-pepper, which has also been denied him. These prohibitions are now at an end.

The *amro* walk round in wheel formation, as at an ordinary *kōma*, with their charges on their shoulders. All the men join in it, but the women do not dance, they keep up a ritual wailing, just as they do for a death. When the men have been round once, the procession goes back inside the palisade. By this time it is getting light. The *amro* have a short time for rest, then they take the boys on their shoulders again, and the *kōma* is repeated for another two rounds. Then the boys are carried to the front of the long house, and are offered water by their *amro*, which they must only pretend to drink, and taro, which they must only pretend to eat. After this, which again is said to be a safeguard against their being 'poisoned', they go into the long house and are given pig, taro, and ceremonial pudding to eat in reality. The visitors from other villages are provided with supplies of areca-nut and go back to their own homes.

Later in the morning, all the initiates, still wearing their new hats with the red patterns, make a round of the village and go inside the huts of the married people, which they have not been able to do since they first put on the *upi*. Then they come back to the long house, go inside the palisade, take off the decorated hats and put on plain ones. The decorated ones are kept in the permanent *tobar*, and are put on for special occasions. Boys who are *tsunaun* may, if they wish, wear decorated hats all the time, but must keep them covered with an outer layer of leaves. The outer covers are made for them by their *amro*, who do not receive payment for this service. Fig. 9 is a boy's drawing of a *kōma* connected with the *watawatʃ*, at which the boys are wearing the decorated upi.

The long house, the palisade, the *roror* trees, the wooden figures,

[1] For description of these lime-pots see p. 432 and Pl. 72. One of those figured (on left in second row) has actually been used in a *watawatʃ* ceremony, but as a rule those that have been so used are very highly prized by their owners who are unwilling to part with them. Another had similar human figures, but placed vertically instead of horizontally.

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PLATE 30

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a. BOYS' DANCE

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b. BOYS OUTSIDE THEIR *TOBAR*

[facing p. 246]

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Then the men go into the bush and cut down wild areca-nut palms and make planks which they bring to the village. They make a long platform like a bridge, supported on poles stuck in the ground, leading from the front verandah of the hut to the banana palm, between the two rows of saplings.

One of the two girls who have been keeping the menstruating girl company now comes out of the hut, walks along this bridge, and climbs up the banana palm. She sits down on top of the bunch of bananas. This girl is called *mani*, 'the opossum'. I could get no explanation for the use of this term. The girl chosen must be too young to menstruate, and is usually about seven or eight, judging from the appearance of the children who were pointed out as being of the right size to act as *mani*.

The girl for whom the ceremony is being performed now comes out of the hut for the first time since the flow began. By this time it will have finished. She wears round her waist a series of girdles made of the outer bark of the banana palm, some scraped and dried in the sun, with a pattern cut on them; other girdles are made of a white cane, and others still of the same cane (rattan, I think) dyed red with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). She also wears a plaited and twisted belt (*sosu*) of the inner skin of the bush banana, similar to that sometimes seen at dances. There are five different kinds of girdles altogether. From them, in front, is suspended a bunch of leaves (*onon*), chosen either for their decorative appearance, or for their aromatic properties. A long list of native names of leaves suitable for this purpose was given to me. These must not be cut, but must be pulled up by the roots. The roots are left attached, and are bound round with lengths of ceremonial currency, both shell and teeth. The roots must be uppermost, coming up on to the girl's chest; the leaves hang down in front of her, the fastening being at about the level of the navel. She must wear no other covering. Her hair is painted with the pattern called *waputan urits*, i.e. a red stripe in the middle, going from forehead to back of neck, a stripe of black on either side, then another stripe of red on the outer side of the black stripes, these red ones reaching down to the ears. Her temples and forehead are edged with white paint. Round her neck she wears a *pirir* (ornament made of clam shell with overlay of tortoise-shell filigree work, see Pl. 68).

She walks along the bridge and climbs up into the banana palm, sitting down just below the bunch of fruit, on a small plank which

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has been fixed there for the purpose. The 'opossum girl' is sitting above her on top of the bunch of fruit.

Then all the women bring the ceremonial pudding they have prepared, and plenty of cooked taro, drinking coco-nuts and dry coco-nuts, and special kinds of taro uncooked with the stalk still attached. These are painted with stripes of black and red. All the things are heaped up at the foot of the banana palm. Meanwhile, all the women *kōma*, shouting as loud as they can.

Then the 'opossum girl' breaks off one banana from the bunch and throws it at the women as they go round in the *kōma*. They are all glad, and shout. Then another woman climbs up the tree and breaks off a banana and throws it. Then all the women start throwing things at one another, limes, canarium almonds, if they are in season, pawpaws, mangoes, areca-nuts, and so on. They play together because they are glad that the girl has begun to menstruate. She herself stays up in the tree and takes no part in the game. This goes on for some time.

When the throwing is finished, the girl puts on two hoods, one plain, the other with a pattern worked on it with strips of fibre (these special hoods, called *tsububuwat*, are made on Buka and obtained by barter). All the women now gather as close as possible to the banana palm, and continue to *kōma* loudly. One of them cuts down the banana palm near the ground. All the women hold up their hands to catch the tree as it falls. They lower it gently to the ground with the two girls still sitting in it. The conch-shell is blown, the slit-gong is beaten with the same rhythm as before, and all the women shout. Some of them catch hold of the girl and carry her into the hut. She must not touch the ground. Other women call out to the 'opossum girl' to hold tight to the bunch of bananas. The tree is laid on the ground with the 'opossum girl' still clinging to it. Its leaves are then pulled off and the 'opossum girl' is covered up with them.

Then the women all play at copulating with one another. One woman makes another woman lie on the ground, at the foot of the prostrate banana palm, she then lies on the top of her and pretends to have coitus. But they must not play at coitus with the girl for whom the ceremony is being held. She must stay inside the hut and take no part in the play. Some one seizes the 'opossum girl' and runs off with her into the hut; she is too small to play at coitus with the women. Then the women get hold of bits of ceremonial

159 All the people of the village, men and women, members of
881 260 ADOLESCENT GIRLS both
784 clans, are fasting. Bwapip (one of the younger men) says he does
183 not intend to fast; he is going to eat taro and drink water. The women are very angry with him; they say that if he does it will bring some terrible disaster on the village. I think he is bluffing, and will not have the courage to break the taboo, or, if he does, it will be in secret.

159 I visited Nawi in her mother's hut. She was lying on the plank
881 which forms her bed, with a woman's hood across her body. Beside her were bunches of leaves, which covered her genitals. The three girls were sitting beside her. Various women came in
● [292] at intervals and sat chatting for a while. All the women are wearing girdles of banana fibre with cordyline leaves tucked into them at the sides and in front.

September 13. A crowd of women are keeping Nawi company, and more are grouped on the women's verandah outside. The men are all lounging about the village, and no one is doing any work. Nawi spends most of her time dozing. When she has to leave the
[292] hut to relieve herself, she puts on a long hood, and both little girls, also wearing hoods, go with her. Ira and Poskea (two of the younger women) came and sat on my verandah, saying how hungry and thirsty they were. They must not eat or drink until to-morrow.

September 14. All the women of the village collected in or around the hut. Two men, Nobit and Wasē, both belonging to the Naboin clan but not related to Nawi, were inside the hut, and a number of other men, including most of the older men of the village, of both clans, were sitting or standing just outside, round the men's verandah. Three new *kōbū* had been prepared, and a bunch of roots and leaves made up beforehand (for description of this see p. 263). Nobit loosened the bundle and held it while Pasu, an old woman of the Naboin clan, sprinkled some red paint (*owan*) over it and into it. Then he held the bundle of leaves and roots over each of the three *kōbū* in turn, while Pasu poured the milk of a large number of coco-nuts through the bundle into two of them; the third was put underneath to catch the overflow. A length of bamboo was put into one of the *kōbū*, and all the women present drank some of the mixture in turns, drawing it up through the bamboo. Nawi was urged to drink freely, so were the two little girls who had been keeping her company. While we were all taking turns to drink, Pasu and Takok (Takok is Nawi's *tsubū*) lay at full length on the ground, and some of the women indulged in a little

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horse-play with them, jumping over them and pulling them about, but there was nothing that could be called playing at sexual intercourse. This part of the ceremony had to be modified on account of the approaching *watawutf*.

The second *kōbū* was put on the ledge just inside the door at the men's end of the hut, and all the men present drank from it, both the two who were inside the hut and those who remained outside at the *tagoan*. When all had drunk, it was filled up with more coco-nut milk, poured through the bundle as before, and the contents were then poured into half-coco-nut shells, with the meat still in them. These were sent to Pinari, who was not present. Coco-nuts were also filled from the *kōbū* out of which the women had drunk, and these were sent to a group of women with babies who were sitting at the women's end of the hut and on the women's verandah.

Nawi wore a hood with a pattern worked on it in fibre. All the women still had cordyline leaves tucked into cane girdles, which they wore over their loin-cloths. The leaves were allowed to hang down, either in front or at both sides. Nawi wore hers in front, under her loin-cloth, which she had resumed; over it she had several girdles of red cane. I was also given cordyline leaves, and asked to wear them in my belt, with the earnest request that I should not throw them away afterwards. They said it would be all right for me to press the leaves and keep them in my box, which I did. Those worn by the other women were to be put up in the rafters of the hut, together with the *kōbū* used to contain the drinking mixture, and dried in the smoke which is constantly rising from the smouldering fire on the floor of the hut. This hardening of the *kōbū* and cordyline leaves is to ensure that Nawi's flux will not occur again too quickly. When she is married, her mother will prepare some ceremonial pudding, of which all the women will partake, and the leaves and the *kōbū* will then be thrown into the sea.

Nawi tells me that her flow has finished. Since its onset was announced on Friday morning, it has lasted two days and two nights, or possibly three nights, if it began early in the night of Thursday–Friday.

When all the men and women present had drunk some of the mixture out of the *kōbū*, Nawi was given a basket of roast taro cut into thin slices, each slice smeared thickly with *owan* on both sides, and a little packet of taro leaves, cooked in the embers. She ate

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the mixture, the good properties of the leaves and roots, &c., are supposed to be carried into the liquid which runs into the *taraki* and the *kōbū*. This liquid is of a red colour, owing to the *owan* (impure iron oxide) which was plentifully sprinkled over the package before the coco-nut milk was poured through. It tastes bitter, probably because of the *owan*, since the liquid, being cold, could hardly act as an infusing agent during the short time it is in contact with the leaves and roots in the package, so as to acquire any properties from them.

When sufficient liquid has been poured through, the package is fastened up again and placed in the rafters of the hut over the fire. Two immature coco-nuts (*kukuts*) are put beside it. It must dry well in the smoke. This is another precaution to 'harden the girl's belly' to prevent her from menstruating again too quickly. When the girl sleeps with her husband for the first time, her mother takes down the package and the coco-nuts, and slashes the two immature coco-nuts open; this represents the 'opening of the girl' in order that she may become pregnant. The package and the coco-nuts are then thrown away into the sea by the mother, who must take care that the current carries them away immediately. This removes their restraining influence over the girl's flow of blood, so that she will have plenty to make a child. If for any reason the girl's mother considers that it is not desirable for her daughter to have a child soon, the package and the coco-nuts are left in the rafters until such time as pregnancy is desired.

The liquid which has been poured through the package into the *taraki* and the *kōbū* must be tasted by all present. The women drink from the *taraki* and the men from the *kōbū*. When every one has had a taste the rest of the liquid is put by in coco-nuts for those who are not present. A woman will save some for her husband, and a man for his wife and children. Little girls who are *tsunaun* cannot drink; they must taste it for the first time when the ceremony is performed on their behalf. Little girls who are commoners get their share with the other people; none will be prepared for them when they begin to menstruate. The coco-nuts in which the mixture is carried to other huts must be carefully kept in the rafters of those huts, and thrown into the sea at the same time as the package of leaves and roots. The belts of coloured cane worn by the girl during the period are rolled up and encased in a covering of fibre, and placed with the other things in the rafters of her

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881 mother's hut. Nawi's mother allowed me to keep one of them
● 292 (see Pl. 75).

FINAL PART OF CEREMONY FOR MUBEN

881 It sometimes happens that a girl is married, and actually sleeps
[582] with her husband, before the onset of her first menstrual period. This was the case with Muben, wife of Kakari, whose marriage took place just prior to my period of residence. Her first flux occurred shortly afterwards. As soon as her mother heard of it, she sent for Muben to return to her own village of Baniu for the
[574] banana-palm ceremony. Unfortunately, this was over before I went to Kurtatchi. But during the first few days of my stay, several of the women of Kurtatchi went to Baniu to bring her back after the conclusion of the ceremony, and on this trip I accompanied them. The final dance took place on the evening of our arrival. When we reached the village, all the men were busy making cere-
[292] monial pudding for us. The bride was dressed in a belt of cane, three white strands and three red ones, from which a bunch of leaves depended in front. She wore no loin-cloth. Another girl, who looked slightly younger, was similarly attired. She was undergoing the ceremony for her first menstruation with Muben, who was of the same clan, but in her case it was not accompanied by marriage.

I was invited to sit on the women's verandah of the hut belonging to the bride's mother. For a long time nothing happened. We passed the time by munching taro and playing at cat's cradles. Long after dark, the sound of Pan-pipes and *mabu* was heard on the other side of the house. Nobody moved. They told me that the men and boys had it all to themselves at first, and that they would come and fetch us afterwards.

881 Presently the two girls concerned went into the hut and were
292 made ready by their mothers, helped by their mothers' sisters. When they came out, a little procession was formed, the men and boys with their instruments in front, the two girls following, and then all the rest of the women and children. The two girls had long bunches of leaves stuck into their cane girdles, they wore the usual woman's hood on their heads, but into the tops of the hoods there were stuck white feathers from the tail of the hornbill. Round their waists was a cord from which hung a rattle made of shell.
[302] A long streak of white outlined each temple and the forehead.

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The group of men and boys formed itself into the usual wheel formation and continued to play on the pipes. The little procession of women walked round them twice. After this it broke up; the two girls went back to the hut and took off their hoods, sticking the hornbill feathers into their hair. Then all the women joined in the dance in the usual way, in twos and threes, backwards and forwards with a kind of balancing movement, varied by a hop 'on the spot'. This went on for some time, but not all night.

The next day the two girls appeared still dressed in their cane girdles, which were now, however, worn on the top of loin-cloths. Their hair was still covered with black paint, but they had washed off the white outlines from forehead and temple. I made a tentative suggestion that I should like to photograph them as they had appeared at the ceremony the night before, but this was met with a polite but firm refusal from the older people. 'That is finished.' After the usual delays, we started on our journey back to Kurtatchi, taking Muben with us. All the Kurtatchi women were heavily loaded with taro and packets of ceremonial pudding. Quite a crowd of the Baniu people accompanied us round the beach to the foot of the cliff, where we sat on the sand for a little while before starting up it. As we went up the cliff path Muben's mother and mother's sister set up a wail. It was quite clearly a piece of ritual, but it seemed to me that there was real grief there as well, and Muben certainly had tears in her eyes when I walked beside her at the top of the cliff. She was obviously making a great effort to control them sufficiently to answer the teasing remarks which one of the men would persist in addressing to her.

CHANGE OF NAME AFTER MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

It is customary that after she has experienced her first menstruation, a girl should be given another name; the former one is then supposed to be taboo. Muben was given the name of Buin, but I never heard her called by it, every one continuing to use the name by which she had been known before. The custom seems not to be considered of great importance, and I never heard of any other name being given to Nawi, the old one being used as before.

VARIATIONS

As in the boys' ceremony, the time involved seems to have been curtailed considerably of late. In the account given by the women,

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PLATE 33

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MAKING CEREMONIAL PUDDING

[Facing p. 274]

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PLATE 49

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BOY WITH PADDLE
[facing P. 368]

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PLATE 57

MAKING FIRE BY THE STICK AND GROOVE METHOD

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292
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[facing p. 394]

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sikuak	wooden beater. 223
riko	round flat stone used to beat on. (*Rako* is the generic term for 'stone'.) 192
katsibilo	shell resembling a cockle, used to scratch the pattern on the rim of the pot.

Operations.

tipo	knead ball of mixture of *petako* and *memia*.
pasala	hollow out ball of mixture with hand and *rako* to make bottom of pot.
bonona	put on a coil of clay round the edge of an unfinished pot.
sak	beat down the coil with *saksak* and *rako*.
sibi	smooth over with wet hand.
katahasnditsho	(lit. 'make good') pinch off bits of the edge to make it even after putting on the last coil.
sinoa	put on the ornamentation round the edge.
tinitin	fire the pot.

Women's hoods

The hoods (*is* or *dzilo* in the Petats dialect, *takop* in the Kurtatchi dialect) are worn by the women of Buka and the north coast of Bougainville (but not on either east or west coasts of that island) in accordance with the rule of avoidance of the relative called *halis* in the Petats dialect and *waris* in the Kurtatchi dialect, i.e. the husband of a daughter or a sister's daughter, and his brothers (see p. 73). The women carry their hoods with them whenever there is the least chance of coming across one of these taboo relatives, and put them on at his approach. They are worn in any case on all special occasions, such as a ceremonial visit or a ceremonial *hitua*. The women also find the hoods useful to keep off rain or the heat of the sun, and are careful to protect the heads of the babies they carry on their backs while working. When not in use, the hoods are folded up along the joins of the leaves of which they are made. To put on the hood is *siva takop*. 292 602

The hoods are made of pandanus leaves. The strong mid-rib is first stripped off, and the prickly outer edge of the leaf is cut away with a knife made of the black-lip oyster shell. The leaves are then left for a little while to dry in the sun. The next process is to rub them with sand very thoroughly, to clean and smooth them. They are then rolled up tightly and laid on the ground, where they unroll a little. There they remain till thoroughly dry, being turned over 294 824